

**AUGUST 1939**

**No. 16**

**10¢**

# *Creative Communism*

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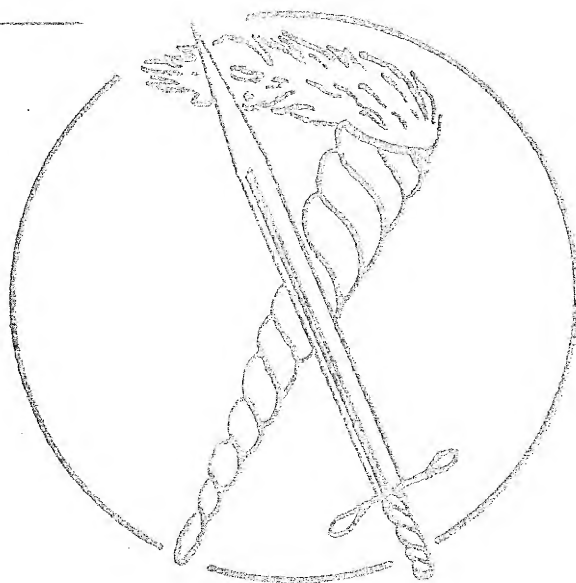
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*We do not proclaim to the world in doctrinaire fashion any brandnew principle:- This is the truth; bow down before it! We do not cry:- Refrain from strife; it is folly! No, we only make clear to mankind what they are really struggling for. And to the consciousness of this they must come, whether they will to come or not.*      **KARL MARX**

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**REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST VANGUARD**  
Philadelphia -- Pennsylvania -- United States

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[Labor Leaders and Labor  
Bleeders] by Daniel De Leon

Excerpts from "Two Pages  
from Ramon History, New York,  
1903. p 42 seq.

# LABOR LEADERS AND LABOR BLEEDERS

*by Daniel DeLeon*

It is not merely by the process of sponging up the wealth produced by the Working Class that the Capitalist Class undermines the health and life of the workingman. The Capitalist Class is, not constructively or inferentially only, a cannibal class. The roots of capitalism are literally watered with the blood of the proletariat. The fields of production-mills, shops, railroad beds, yards-are strewn with the limbs and fallen bodies of workingmen. Capitalist "progress" is built upon the skulls and crossbones of its Working Class victims. Obviously, in the interest of the Working Class is the tearing of the veil of hypocrisy with which the Capitalist Class seeks to conceal those deeds of mayhem and murder, and the giving to them the greatest publicity possible. What does the Labor Leader do? He aids in the act of concealment, and thereby lends direct support to the capitalist's rockless disregard for the safety of the workingman's limb and life. Of this particular service to capitalism, the following few instances, taken from an inexhaustible quarry, may give an idea.

In Silver Bow County, Mont., Sam Johnson, the Secretary of the Mill Smelters' Union, is Coroner, and Peter Breen, of the Miners' Union, is County Attorney. "Accidents," by which miners and smelters are injured for life or killed, due entirely to capitalist rockless methods, are matters of daily occurrence in the County. Johnson has been in office now seventeen months. Aided by Breen, not one-eye, not one-case has been prosecuted; they are all hushed up.

Here in this State the cry went up, it was eleven years ago, on the outrages perpetrated by the Adirondack Railroad Company, Vanderbilt System, upon the men who were shanghai'd to build the road. Florence F. Donovan, of the International Typographical Union, at the time a Commissioner of Arbitration, was appointed to investigate. He was shown to have been bribed by the Company with \$500 to whitewash it; and he earned his bribe; and though he went down and out of office in disgrace, the Company went off scott free!

In the State of Washington, when the Great Northern Tunnel, called the "Cascade Tunnel", owing to its heavy grade and length, was first opened, three or four workingmen were suffocated to death, owing to the company's hurry to operate the road. The State Legislature appointed a Committee to investigate. William Blackman, a member of the Seattle Typographical Union, and, at the time, Labor Commissioner, was put on the Committee to "represent Labor". The Committee reported unanimously the tunnel perfectly safe, and none responsible for the accident.

And in Pennsylvania. The Mine and Factory Inspectors in that bloodstained region, a region shaken up periodically by shocking "accidents" to miners, are Labor Leaders almost to a man. I shall not cumulate instances on this head. You know that the maimed and murdered miners go unavenged, the crimes being screened by those Labor Leaders.

And yet, not all this will stead the Capitalist Class. And they know it. As a last and most effective string to their bow, when all other means fail, the Capitalist Class thrums on the public powers that it is entrusted with. If, despite all their efforts at suppression and misleading, cajoling and cheating, the indignation of the Working Class breaks loose, the policeman's club, the rifle of the militia, and, if necessary, the military power of the Nation itself, are brought into requisition. What deception, cajolements and chicanery may have failed to accomplish, brute force is ordered to bring about, and the workingmen are clubbed, or butchered into subjection. Obviously in the interest of the Working Class is, at least, emphatic protest against

such deeds. What does the Labor Leader do? From his safe perch in office he condones by his silence the brutality of capitalism, occasionally even applauds it.

A few instances in which this particular service is rendered to the Capitalist Class are these:

John Burns, Labor Leader in the British Parliament, when the miners were shot down by the troops in 1893, and the Liberal Home Secretary Asquith "took upon himself the responsibility of the act"—John Burns upheld the hand of Mr. Asquith.

Dave C. Coates, President of the State Federation of Labor of Colorado, as Lieutenant Governor of that State, remains silent at the periodical clubbings and shootings of workmen in his State, and by his conduct accentuates the meaning of his taking the stump for Charles S. Thomas, who, in 1898, was rewarded by the Colorado capitalists with the nomination for Governor in return for his denunciation of the miners of the Bull Hill district as "thugs and incendiaries."

In New York, the Sam Prince and William Maher, already mentioned, and before them Williams of the Carpenters' Union, sat quietly in their seats in the Legislature while Governors Flower, Morton and the present incumbent Odell successively hurled the militia of the State against the railway workers in Buffalo, Brooklyn, and Albany, striking to enforce the ten-hour law, and in support of the capitalists who were violating the law. Vested as they were with the power to move the impeachment of these law-breaking magistrates, the silence of that batch of Labor Leaders was an emphatic expression of approval. Nor should it escape us in this connection that, fresh upon Governor Flower's conduct, and the applause bestowed upon him by his supporter and fellow-Democrat, Jacob Cantor, this Cantor becoming a candidate for the Senate, he was pronounced a "friend of Labor," and he who said the contrary "one who said what is not true," by another Labor Leader, Samuel Gompers.

In St. Paul, Minn., one B. F. Morgan, a member of Lodge 31 of the Switchmen's Union, enjoys a place on the police force of the city, and despite—or is it, perhaps, because of—this double capacity, appeared as a delegate at the recent Milwaukee, Wis., national convention of his trade. What virtues qualified that Labor Leader for selection as policeman by the capitalist government of St. Paul you may judge. You may also judge what influences secured his election to the convention, and what his mission was there.

In Detroit, Mich., one C. P. Collins had earned his spurs with the Capitalist Class for shooting down the city employes at Conners Creek. Wishing after that to run for Sheriff, and his capitalist backers fearing that his Conners Creek record would militate against him with the workmen voters, his backers hired Henry Eickoff of the Detroit Polishers' Union to impart to Collins a "Labor flavor." Collins was elected, and his capitalist backers rewarded Eickoff with the office of Factory Inspector.

Obviously, independent, class-conscious political action is the head of Labor's lance. Useful as any other weapon may be, that weapon is the determining factor. Entrenched in the public powers, the Capitalist Class command the field. None but the political weapon can dislodge the usurpers and enthrone the Working Class; that is to say, emancipate the workers and rear the Socialist Republic. And none are better aware of the fact than the Capitalist Class, nor, consequently, more anxious to have the Labor forces turned from the field of independent Labor political activity. Obviously, in the interest of the Working Class, is it to arouse them to class-conscious political action. What does the Labor Leader do? From England, westward over the United States and Canada to Australia, we find the Labor Leaders solidly arrayed against the very idea. A veritable bulwark of capitalism, they seek to turn the political trend of the Labor Movement into the channels of capitalist politics, where the head of Labor's lance, its independent, class-conscious political effort, can be safely broken off.

Such are the facts thrown up by the career of the Labor Leader everywhere, every one of whom, in public office, is there by the grace of capitalist parties. Even in the instances that would seem exceptional, the exception is in seeming only.

...The Labor Leader is "practical," he makes a boast of that; he nurses no "visions," he "chases no rainbows."

...The Labor Leader sees no way out of the existing Social System. He will admit the evils of capitalism; it is profitable that he should; but no more than did the Plebs Leader of old, does the Labor Leader of to-day aim at the extinction of the flames that devour the wage-slave class.

...The Labor Leader accepts the social economy of the ruling class: "Poverty always was; poverty always will be."

...The Labor Leader places no faith whatever in the capacity of the Working Class to emancipate itself.

Finally, and by reason of all this,...the Labor Leader of to-day limits his aspirations to the feathering of his own nest, and, in pursuit of this purpose turns himself, at the expense of the Working Class, into a prop of capitalism.

The common designation of "Labor" that clings to the Labor Leader, and which he is zealous to cultivate, does for the Labor Leader what the common designation of "plebeian" did for the Plebs Leader; it covers him, along with the toiling and fleeced wage-slaves in the shops, mills and yards, placing him before these in the light of a "fellow-workman." In this instance,...the people-capitalists as well as proletarians-generally fall victims to the delusion, a delusion that the Labor Leaders alone remains free from. Accordingly, in this instance, the common delusion arms the Labor Leader with the club wherewith to wrench from the Capitalist Class safety for himself.

...To-day the only question among the elements that accept the existing Social System is economic. And that question is considered solved by the folks of the "practical" brigade when a "living" is secured; that is to say, when immunity is gained from work as a wage-slave. Obviously, the landing on the "stairs of safety" with the Labor Leader is far below what it necessarily had to be with the Plebs Leader; with the Labor Leader the landing is brought down to the level of the "bribe." The lowering of the character of the "safety" with which the Labor Leader is satisfied, quite in keeping with the lowering morality of capitalist atmosphere, does not affect the essence of the Labor Leader's exploit, nor the nature of its effect. That he can secure such safety, and that imparts direction to would-be imitators; finally, that, bundle of ignorance, perverseness and corruption as he is, he succeeds in his double game of double dealing--that is the important fact. And that fact makes the Labor Leader of today ...a masked position, a strategic post and force that buttresses capitalism, and the very quality of which cannot but operate demoralizingly, disastrously upon the Working Class.

And this strategic power for evil on the part of the Labor Leader has so far been effective. With increasing rafts of them in public office by the grace of capitalist parties, and still larger rafts of them qualifying for the distinction, we see to-day that, despite an increasing percentage of workmen, even the census admits a decreasing percentage in wages. And the general situation of the Working Class in the land to-day is well pictured by the now common grin joke: "When a workman has reached forty-five years, take him out and shoot him; he is too used up to be of any further account, and is too poor to take care of himself." And yet, despite these facts, there are those who say: "The Labor leader amounts to nothing, ignore him".... which goes to prove that the ostriches are not all of them feathered tribe. And others there are who declare: "The Labor Leader and his organizations need not concern the

Socialist Movement, capitalism itself is destroying both"--which goes to show how wide of the mark abstract scientific principles, when recited by rote, will fall!

The Socialist knows that popular well-being implies the emancipation of the race from class rule... The abolition of class rule had to await the modern machinery of production. Not until mechanical perfection in production can render the production of wealth ample and easy enough to afford to all the leisure that civilization craves, does it become at all possible to abolish involuntary poverty...

To-day the condition precedent for proletarian emancipation has been reached: the mechanism of production has reached the point where "the wheels move of themselves." No longer are civilized conditions for some predicated upon the unavoidable privations of any, let alone of most. Civilized conditions are to-day possible for all; and the class interests of the revolutionary class--the Working Class--dictate the programme, the collective ownership of the land on and the tools with which to work; in short, the Co-operative Commonwealth, or Socialist Republic. Furthermore, to-day we need not grope in historic darkness. The past throws its light, and no flickering light it is, across our path, to guide our steps. By that light we may read the strategic significance of the Labor Leader; by that light we may perceive him to embody... those fortuitous circumstances that, unless made decided front against, certainly will multiply all the possibilities for good of the age, turn avry "enterprises of great pith and moment," and make them lose the name of action... Blindness on our part would be unpardonable to-day. The army that operates upon hostile territory may not "ignore" a strategic post from which it may be moved down; nor should a parrot-like recitation of Socialist philosophy be allowed to lull the Socialist Movement into imaginary safety.

... Let there be no fatalism in our councils. The Socialist Republic is no predestined inevitable development. The Socialist Republic depends, not upon material conditions only; it depends upon these--plus clearness of vision to assist the evolutionary process. Nor was the agency of the intellect needful at any previous stage of social evolution in the Class Struggle to the extent that it is needful at this, the culminating one of all.

Is the revolutionary class of this Age living under ripened conditions to avail itself of its opportunity and fulfil its historic mission? Or is the revolutionary spark of our Age to be smothered and banked up till, as in the Rome of old, it leap from the furnace, a weapon of national suicide? In sight of the invasion of the Philippine Islands and the horrors that are coming to light, is there any to deny that the question is a burning one?

The answer depends, to-day, not upon a knowledge of scientific Socialist economics and sociology alone. It depends upon that and, hand in hand with that, upon an accurate knowledge of the strategic features of the field. Nor is there a strategic post that the Socialist or Labor Movement should keep its weather eye more firmly on and take more energetic measures against than the Labor Leader.

...The Labor Leader of to-day (is) nothing but a masked battery, from behind which the Capitalist Class can encompass what it could not without--the work of enslaving and slowly degrading the Working Class, and, along with that, the work of debasing and ruining the country.

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We appeal to all friends of CREATIVE COMMUNISM to contribute with all their strength to the fund that the Revolutionary Communist Vanguard has founded for the purpose of printing the classics of class-consciousness. We want to broadcast "The Elements of Communism" by Frederick Engels first, a rare rich work. Give all the money you can! You will be giving incalculable help to the enlightenment of American Labor.



# FASCISM: FANTASIES AND FACTS

*by - Ibadiah Airfare*

"The Italian incident is interesting from the point of view of the possibility of similar developments in other countries; but it is important to remember the circumstances out of which Fascist intervention and success arose. Fascism was a counter-revolution; and if a proletarian revolution should break out, in such a country as Great Britain, it is highly probable that such a counter-revolution as occurred in Italy will take place. But if the revolutionary aim of the proletariat be confined to constitutional action, it is not likely that the opposition will resort to violence. Fascism is in a large measure recruited from fine young men of ideals who are not anti-labour, but who have joined the Fascist movement because they believed that the aims and the methods of the Communists were anti-national and against the real welfare of Labour. This will inevitably happen everywhere when a constitutional movement resorts to revolutionary methods. The violence exercised by the Fascisti in suppressing the Communist rising was no necessary part of their general aim and policy, but arose out of the conflict of forces."

Thus did the Right Honourable Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the British Imperial Exchequer, and Chairman of the Independent Labour Party for many years, justify in 1924 the butchery of the Italian proletariat by Benito Mussolini & Co. The entire article from which the above paragraph was taken, entitled Social and Revolutionary Unrest, /"These Eventful Years, edited by J. Garvin; London 1924/ is a threat to the working class to beware of fighting the overdog class with all its own class might, for fear of Fascism. No lie was too little for Snowden and his Socialist cronies to employ in order to terrify workers over the world into the corrals of "constitutional" capitalism. Not a single member of the Socialist and Labor International - The Yellow International, as Lenin branded it - rose to demand that the watchdog of England's treasury should devour his words. Not even one Social-Democrat of Italy stood up to ask what "Communist rising" the Rt. Hon. hypocrite referred to. Naturally no Socialist told the truth about the victory of the counter-revolution in Italy and the precious assistance given it by the Social-Democracy.

Observe how brazenly the cur contradicted himself: "if a proletarian revolution should break out, in such a country as Great Britain, it is highly probable that such a counter-revolution as occurred in Italy will take place;" (my emphasis.-OF) "This will inevitably happen everywhere when a constitutional movement resorts to revolutionary methods" (my underline.-OF). The distinction betwixt "highly probable" and "inevitably" should be clear to the dumbest of Social-Democrats who can tell a guess from a dead certainty. The smart Snowden did not venture to predict what fortune would befall the working class that confined its struggles to legal deeds. Optimism never went to his head; it got no further than his mealy mouth.

The Second International for at least sixteen years circulated the lie that Fascism was just a dreadful antidote of the boss class against revolutionary Communism. With greater bravado the Third International broadcast the same falsehood: "The principal aim of fascism is to destroy the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, i.e., the Communist sections of the proletariat and their leading forces." /"The Program of the Communist International"; third edition, 1936, Page 25./

The murder-drive of the Austrian Chancellor Engelbert Dollfus in February 1934 against the law-abiding wageslaves of his land, whose undisputed leaders were all Social-Democrats, is proof enough that the Socialists and Stalinists (not to mention their satellite sects) falsify the history of Fascism. Is Fascism at war with Communism in Spain this very day, or is it battling imperialist Republicanism in alliance with imperialist Social-Democracy, imperialist Anarcho-Syndicalism, and imperialist Stalinism? Not to be outdone by his overlord liars of the two yellow Internationals, Leon Trotsky perpetrated this in 1932; Fascism, he squealed, "means, first of all, that the workers organisations for the most part are obliterated; that the proletariat

is reduced to an amorphous condition; and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and serves to frustrate the independent crystallisation of the proletariat. Therein precisely lies the essence of Fascism." [See his "What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat"; New York, 1932; page 30/ In short, Fascism actually solves the riddles of the class war for Capital, according to Trotsky, and so explodes the claim of Communism to the quality of science.

"One capitalist always kills many. Side by side with this centralisation or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, there develop on an ever-extending scale the cooperative form of the labor process; the conscious technical application of science; the methodical cultivation of the soil; the transformation of the instruments of labor into tools employable only in common; the economising of all means of production by their use as the means of production of united, socialised labor; the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market; and thus, the international character of the capitalist system. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, there grows the volume of misery, oppression, slavery; degradation, exploitation. But together with this grows also the revolt of the working class, a class ever increasing in numbers, and disciplined, combined, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself." /Read Capital; Chicago, 1906, Vol. 1. pages 836-837/

Who dares declare that Fascism "frustrates" the metamorphosis of the proletariat from its green youth of dispersion and dim consciousness to the maturity of world solidarity and revolutionary understanding? The fact that Fascism multiplies the miseries of the toilers informs Marxians that the uprising of our class is closer in those lands under its iron yoke than in the countries blessed with representative government. What is the prime purpose of the ferocious efforts of Italian and German capital to ravish markets and colonies if not to soften the class convulsions within their borders? Only Trotsky and his Socialist and Stalinist superiors pretend to believe that the wrecking of their organisations by Fascism, organisations whose main aim is the shackling of Labor to the chariots of Capital, signifies the frustration of "the independent crystallisation of the proletariat."

There is a sect in the United States calling itself the Group of Council Communists; once it was titled bombastically "The United Workers Party of America". The program of this outfit, printed under the name: "Worldwide Fascism or World Revolution?" (Chicago 1934), defined Fascism as nothing more nor less than "the dictatorship of the capitalist class" (page 15)

They predicted that "The international character of the depression, the international character of the class struggle, will force the dictatorship of the ruling class all over the world. Fascism becomes a world menace. (15-16)" Ten years after the Labour Chancellor Snowden warned the workers to bend their necks to plutocratic law and order, scaring them with the phantom of Fascism, these counter-Communists proclaimed: "Fascism becomes a world menace"! And they consoled American toilers with the delusion that the "dictatorship of the ruling class" did not yet strangle the United States. (To split the atom is easier than to distinguish between a "ruling class" and a dictating class.) This association names the rags of Peter Kropotkin which shield it from the tempests of class war - the mantle of Rosa Luxemburg!

Mock-Marxists in Europe and America, who scalp each other over hairsplitting metaphysics, are in harmony when they come to the question of the character of Fascism. The Council Communists define it in almost the exact words used by Lewis Corey in the Workers Age (journal of the Independent Labor League, Jay Lovestone & Co., 1 March 1939), to describe it: "The threat of overthrow, bred by economic stress, forces the ruling class to crystallise its control of the government by forming a military police state". Mr. Corey depicts the Fascists as revolutionary, destroying the old parliamentary state and creating a new militarist state. He wants us to believe that the



ruling class does not exert iron control of the so-called "democratic" government which Fascism upsets, that only Fascism expresses the political mastery of the capitalist class. Mr. Corey and his colleagues calculate to make the democracy of bossdom more palatable to the proletariat, picturing it as a regime where the exploiters powers are legally limited, where the workingman have a real say in matters of state.

The counter-Communists have uttered few falsehoods as monstrous as their cardinal doctrine concerning Fascism, their claim that it is the dream and the deed of a capitalist class machinating against Labor in unison. The 6th congress of the 3rd International (1928) announced: "The characteristic feature of Fascism is that, as a consequence of the shock suffered by the capitalist economic system, and of special objective and subjective conditions (if 'special', why not state them? - OF), the bourgeoisie - in order to hinder the development of the revolution - utilises the discontent of the petty and middle urban and rural bourgeoisie, and even of certain strata of the declassed proletariat (What on earth is a 'declassed proletariat'? - OF), for the purpose of creating a reactionary mass movement." Does not this sentence seem to portray Fascism as a movement of the majority of a nation, a genuine democratic movement? And don't the Stalinists endorse the definition of Fascism given by the very theoreticians whose Russian likes they shoot like dogs?

Marx and Engels never wearied of teaching Labor that the dictatorship of Capitalist and Ferocious was nothing less than what is commonly called Democracy. As early as January 1848, they proclaimed that "the burgessey has at last, since the establishment of modern industry and of the world-market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative state, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern state is only a committee for managing the mutual affairs of the whole burgessey....for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation." The Communist Manifesto pronounced the final word on capitalist democracy. The modern representative state, the burges republic, fortifies the exclusive political sway of Capital, shapes its dictatorship. Bankers, landlords, industrialists, merchants, in the representative, the parliamentary government, make the laws and execute them together. They rule society without the buncomb of hero-idolatry, savior-worship, Ultramontanism and other religious rackets inflicted on the people by Fascism; they rule society with scanty pretenses at impartiality, charity, and authoritarianism. The theme-song of boss-class democracy was delivered clearly by President Hoover in a Pan-American Conference oration on 8 October 1931: "The sole function of government is to bring about a condition of affairs favorable to the beneficial development of private enterprise."

After the defeat of the June 1848 insurrection of the Paris working class at the hands of the exploiters dictatorship which titled itself the 'Social Republic', Marx wrote: "By making its burial-place the birth-place of the bourgeois republic, the proletariat compelled the latter to appear forthwith in its pure form as the state whose admitted objective is to perpetuate the rule of Capital, the slavery of Labor." /Class Struggles in France, Chapter 1/ "For the interests of the burgessey, the material conditions of its class rule and class exploitation, form precisely the content of the burges republic." (Work quoted Chapter 2) Over and over again Marx hammered the fact home: The "realm of the republic was the only one in which both factions (landlords and industrialists) could maintain in equal power the common class interest, without surrendering their mutual rivalry:" once more- "the burges republic could not be anything but the perfected and plainly expressed rule of the entire bourgeois class." (Work quoted; Chapter 2) About the peasant under capitalist democracy, Marx thundered: "The constitutional republic, that is the dictatorship of his united exploiters; the Social-Democratic, the Red republic, that is the dictatorship of his allies." /Class Struggles in France; Chapter 3/

In 1852 Marx reviewed the rise of Bonapartism, what I have described as nineteenth-century Fascism, to the top of the French state. Against the parliamentary politicians

who shrieked that the Bonapartist regime was the absolute dictatorship of the rich, Marx wrote: "bourgeois republic signifies the unlimited despotism of a single class over the other classes." He pointed out that the majority of the capitalist class were degraded under the Second Empire, persecuted, denied freedom of press and organisation, even their good old 'freedom of trade' was regimented. Under the parliamentary republic, and "only under this form could the two great divisions of the French burgessy unite, and thus place the domination of their class instead of the government of a privileged section of it on the order of the day." "Instinct taught them that the republic indeed perfects their political rule, but at the same time undermines its social foundation, since they must then confront the subjugated classes and struggle against them without the intermediation, without the concealment afforded by the Crown, without being able to divert the national interest thru their subordinate battles with one another and with the monarchy." /Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. May 1871/

After the defeat of the Paris Commune, the first dictatorship of the proletariat, the first true "government of the people and by the people", as Marx described it, the question of the character of capitalist democracy was clinched in Marx's Civil War in France. He confirmed his analysis of 1848: "the Government, placed under parliamentary control - that is, under the direct control of the propertied class," in brief, bourgeois republic, the constitutional state, was branded as "a regime of confessed class terrorism". Mock-democracy is the best name for the dictatorship of Capital, the "totalitarian" regime of all exploiters of wage-labor, from the sweatshop boss to the trust-booster. Under no regime but bourgeois democracy is the state so clearly and cruelly revealed as the state of exploitation and persecution, strike-breaking, swindling, war. Engels stated, in The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, that within the democratic republic "wealth exerts its power indirectly, but all the more effectively. This is done partly in the form of straitforward corruption of officials, after the classical type of the United States, or in the form of an alliance between government and financiers, which is established all the more easily when the public debt increases, and when corporations concentrate in their hands not only the means of transport, but also production itself, employing the stock exchange as their centre." Genuine democracy cannot exist so long as slavery, even the emancipated labor of 100%-American "collective bargainers", grimes and slimes the earth. The only real democracy is created by the dictatorship of Labor!

Theorem:- Fascism is the movement and government in capitalist society reflecting the interests, illusions, ideology of the petty peasantry, the rockribbed reactionary 'independent' land proprietors, uniting the aristocracy of the 'underworld' with the aristocracy of finance, for the sake of establishing a despotism of military law and police regimentation, balancing betwixt the chief classes of modern civilisation, the burgessy and the proletariat, subordinating both to the state, the essential concerns of Capital.

Corollary:- Fascism is twentieth-century Bonapartism.

Testimony and Evidence:- Robert Dell, British correspondent of The Nation (3 February 1926), in article titled 'Is France Going Fascist?' stated: "The Fascist movement in France, such as it is - and it does not look dangerous at present - is just the old Bonapartism without a Bonaparte or even a plausible substitute for one". (page 109)

At the time Dell wrote one Georges Valois was organising what he called the "Faisceau" of France, gangs of young reactionaries who demanded a "dictatorship of order, over and above a parliamentarism that is impotent and rotten." One of Valois's tracts declared: "We engage battle openly, boldly against the bourgeois radical, liberal, conservative, - who tremble before the politicians and the international financial interests. We invite all who produce to join our ranks." This fellow Valois later was among the first to sign Trotsky's manifesto for the "Fourth International".

Mussolini, Kemal, Pilsudski, Hitler, Franco, every Fascist chief appeals to "all who produce", artisan, proletarian, peasant, to join the ranks of their gutter warriors. Interviewed by the Manchester Guardian Mussolini bellowed (19 October 1922): "I love the working classes. The supreme ambition and the dearest hope of my life has been, and is still, to see them better treated and enjoying conditions of life worthy of the citizens of a great nation. They have a just claim to humane conditions and to a reward proportionate to their labor. But men have duties as well as rights. I cannot admit the classic Marxist conception of socialism, and I deny that the welfare of the proletariat can be attained thru the principles of Marxism. I do not believe in the class war, but in cooperation between classes. The Fascist Government will devote all its efforts to the creation of an agrarian democracy based on the principle of small ownership. The great estates must be handed over to peasant communities; the great capitalists of agriculture must submit to a process of harmonisation of their rights with those of the peasants."

General Franco, reported by the New York Times, 2 October 1936: "Do not believe that the army is defending capitalism. It is fighting for the people, including all workers, who will enjoy full rights of citizenship but who must realise that rights also entail duties." - So Fascism sings theme and variations!

Carlston Beals, in The Nation of 17 January 1923, falsely defined Fascism as "The Dictatorship of the Middle Class" but touched the truth when he described its social foundations: "the economic bases of Fascism rest on the middle class: the trades-people and the peasant proprietors. (My stress. OR The trades-people are not normally represented by Fascism but by Anarchism or at wealthiest, by Social-Democracy.) Because Fascism seems to speak for the piccolo borghesia, the priest Don Sturzo honeyed it in the minds of his middle-class party of "social justice" and "Catholic action". He proclaimed: "Fascism is not economically the police or the royal guard of the rich and predatory industrial bourgeoisie, nor will it maintain the parasitic industry that lives in the shadow of the State."

The answer to the Snowdens and their sort who justify Fascism as antidote to revolutionary Communism was written by Mussolini in 1921. He asserted in Popolo d'Italia that "to say that there still exists a Bolshevik peril in Italy is to substitute certain insidious fears for reality. Bolshevism does not exist..." The last phrase was a boast, a wish, not fact, despite the butchery of revolutionary laborers all over the land in 1921. The Liberal Giovanni Giglio reported two of the most atrocious triumphs of the hounds of law and order in The Nation of 10 August 1921: "The siege and conquest of Grosseto, a medieval town on the Tuscan Maremma, cost the lives of fifteen Communists."

The siege lasted for three days and was conducted by an army of 2000 Fascisti full battle array. The military and the police authorities garrisoning the town put themselves at the service of the Fascisti and fought side by side with them against the workers who were defending their houses in the besieged town. When the workers' resistance came to an end, the Fascisti and the police rushed with bestial fury into the workers' quarters, sacking and burning everything. The six hours battle before the Chamber of Labor at Sestri Ponente was not less savage. The workers, besieged in the building, were nearly all Syndicalists, and they fought and defended themselves like lions against an armed force equipped with armored motor cars and machine guns. The battle lasted all night. Many men fell on both sides. When towards dawn the Fascisti and the police rushed into the Chamber of Labor, now dismantled and in ruins, they found only thirty wounded men there, the others having succeeded in getting away under cover of the night." The memory of this infamy will never vanish from the brains of workers devoted to their class, especially when the facts are linked with the crime of the Socialist Party committed during these gruesome events: "All this and even more," says Giglio, "was taking place, while within the walls of Parliament the delegates of the Socialists and the Fascisti were sitting around a table negotiating peace."

3 August 1921:- Delegates of the National Council of the Fasci di Combattimento and of the Fascist parliamentary fraction, also deputies of the General Confederation of Labor, together with representatives of the Socialist Executive Committee and Socialist parliamentary fraction, assembled under the chairmanship of Enrico de Nicola, president of the Chamber of Deputies, to make a treaty of party peace. Outstanding among the patriot peace-makers with Fascism was the Social-Democrat Filippo Turati. When he was exiled from Italy he published an appeal for what might be titled a "People's Front": "Italy needs...a League for Liberty. This league would replace the present 'democratic' forces. It would become powerful in Italy, and the longer Fascism remained in power the stronger would this League grow in numbers and influence. To such a league would rally not only the Socialists, but particularly the evolutionists whose faith in Liberty is unquestioned, all the sincere Democrats, a part of the Catholic Party, which is now torn in two by warring factions, and all those Liberals and Conservatives who have not abandoned the sane Cavourian tradition of the Risorgimento." By the "Cavourian tradition" Turati meant, as any student of Italian class struggles is aware, the constitutional monarchism of the bourgeois plutocrats. It is curious that this labor leader, or better, labor bleeder, threatens Fascism in manner similar to the menace offered by the Communist Remmele to Hitler in the German Congress on 14 October 1931. Turati promised Mussolini that the longer the Blackshirts governed, the stronger would grow the People's Front, that is the League for Liberty. Remmele shrieked across the Reichstag to the Hitlerites: "Messieurs Fascists do not frighten us; they will go to smash much faster than any other government." Likewise the Communist International wizard D. Z. Manuilsky solemnly proclaimed to the 10th Plenum of the Comintern Central Committee: "The capitalist world is heading for revolution, but before succumbing it goes thru the phase of Fascism. Fascism is going to be the last stage of capitalism before the world revolution." The Daily Worker echoed as late as October 15, 1935: "Fascism is the last stage of capitalism, as has been said a thousand times".

In the very first number of CREATIVE COMMUNISM (July 1938) we wrote: "On the brows of Manuilsky, his master and fellow-fakers, the overdogs of the Second and Third Internationals, should be branded - Friends of Fascism!"

Carleton Beals's book, Rome or Death, and Odon Por's treatise on Fascism provide plenty of proof of the peasant origin of Mussolini's movement. Konrad Heiden's History of National Socialism, as well as his life of Hitler, supply abundant evidence of the agrarian roots of the party of the Third Reich.

The cleverest of American journalists, Ludwell Denny, observed the emergence of Fascism in Germany. He noted in The Nation of 14 March 1923 that the heart of the counter-revolution was in Bavaria, the arch-reactionary peasant province. "Money and arms can make a revolution but cannot maintain a dictatorship without the consent of Bavaria's dominant class, the peasant small holders." (page 297) "In Bavaria are the highest mountains, the best beer...and the worst democrats, runs the boast." "The peasantry ... is controlled by the Church. Cardinal Faulhaber, speaking before an All-German Catholic Convention after Rathenau's murder by a monarchist, branded the German republic 'a Government of traitors' and absolved Catholics from obeying the laws for its defense." The German Ultramontanes yearned for a Fascist regime engineered from Rome, like the present Salazar despotism in Portugal. Cardinal Faulhaber encouraged Hitler and has been richly rewarded by the Brownshirts for his services to the Fatherland. The present Pope, Pacelli, directly inspired Faulhaber in his assaults on the mock-democracy of the German Republic.

The Nation concisely described the Bonapartism of the ex-Socialist Marshal Pilsudski, who fought to restore "order" in a republic rotten from birth with graft and crime, with a parliament of 21 parties, the worst of which was the patriotic imperialist Social-Democracy. Pilsudski, said The Nation (26 May 1926), has "a curiously mixed record. He has allied himself with the Socialists in internal affairs and sponsored the cause of the small peasants, but he has played the jingo in international politics

(as though these points were at odds - OF). Labor stood by him and assisted his revolution (The splitters of the working class, the trade-union traitors, are designated usually as 'Labor' by the broadminded Nation. Naturally it would style the 'stroke of state' of the Fascist Pilsudski for the sake of capitalist stability "revolution". OF) ...but his main support was the army."

The Fascist dictatorship of Mustapha Kemal Pasha was extolled in nauseating style by Mufti-Zade K. Zia Bey in an article named 'The New Turkish Democracy' (Nation, 22 November 1922). It opened with an incantation to the glory of holy Anatolia, the blackest-backward region of the Ottoman empire: "it is Anatolia today which illumines the Old World." Then this neo-Democrat gets down to business, justifying the ways of the cutthroat Kemal to republican America: "the efficiency of this new form of government in its civilian administration has just received an impartial (?) recognition by the Committee of Investigation sent by Admiral Mark L. Bristol, United States High Commissioner in Constantinople." The Bristol committee, gloats Zia Bey, reported to Washington that "the new Turkish administration had established perfect order." (Order is the most precious word in the bourgeois vocabulary; it signifies the state of petrified putridity in which the capital class wished to sustain the system of private property anarchy.) On "the lofty plains of Anatolia", says the Ottoman sage, "one of the basic Moslem principles", the principle of "the sanctity of private property" was proclaimed by General Mustapha Kemal Ataturk, and war declared against the burgesses who clamored for a parliamentary republic and the proletarians who wanted a communal republic: "the proclamation of a republic in Turkey would have been too dangerous a measure to take with aggressive and powerful soviets on the Caucasian border."

Hans Kohn: 'Ten Years of the Turkish Republic' (Foreign Affairs, October 1933)- "In its social-political structure Mustafa Kemal's dictatorship is more like Mussolini's in Italy than that of the National Socialists in Germany. The Italian and Turkish dictatorships came into being about the same time..." The new Sultan tenoned and mortised his despotism in the granite of "the Anatolian motherland of the Turkish people and decided to give his undivided attention to the Anatolian peasant, who had hitherto been carrying the burden of the idea of empire without any compensation."

Fascism is the movement and government in capitalist society reflecting the interests, illusions, ideology of the petty peasantry, the rockribbed reactionary 'independent' land proprietors; uniting the aristocracy of the 'underworld' with the aristocracy of finance, for the sake of establishing a despotism of military law and police regimentation, balancing betwixt the chief classes of modern civilisation, the bourgeois and the proletariat, subordinating both to the state, the essential concerns of Capital.  
Fascism is twentieth century Bonapartism.

#### The End

"He who enters the social movement carries his life in his hands. The enemy in power is brutal and criminal, and desperate withal. The social reformer must not imagine it an impossibility that his life may be ended prematurely by felony. But to die by the hand of Capital, battling against it, were no disgrace; on the contrary, it would rebound to his eternal glory, and the memory of his martyrdom might be the best bequest left to his descendants to guide and fortify them in the conflicts and the trials of the future." - Daniel DE LEON.

"I know that what Marx teaches upon the instinct of the class struggle is correct; that the instinct is there; it is latent. It is the mission of the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class to interfere with us and to prevent us from touching that chord. It is our mission to break thru and touch that chord, and that chord, if touched, responds immediately. But the capitalist class of this country walks upon a flaming volcano, and that volcano will start in eruption and overthrow them the day we have organised a substantial minority." - Daniel DE LEON.

BUY BUNDLES OF Creative Communism - - - BUILD THE Revolutionary Communist Vanguard!!!



# HOLLYWOOD-WASHINGTON-WALL STREET

## THE CITY OF SIN AND CYNICISM

While the Russian Bolsheviks were working themselves to death constructing the republic of labor on the wreckage of monarchist landlordship and democratic capitalism, and founding the Third International of world revolution for the international union of soviet states, the universal dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry,-- the rest of the world suffered a "hangover" from military prosperity. The working class everywhere rose to combat the starvation drives of the boss class, who were trying by wagecuts, speedups, inflation and "technological unemployment", to emerge from the pit of industrial depression. There were militant strikes fought to a clean-cut finish in Pennsylvania and Ohio coal fields in 1919. Films of these struggles were forbidden the screen by censorship boards of these states. Movies appeared portraying rebellious laborers as alien agitators, wicked unkempt godless outlaws. As early as 1916 the American Federation of Labor was forced to protest against censorship of movies dealing with proletarian tragedies--"when they are based on facts." Inspired by the severe realism of French literature and German drama, one photoplay was produced in the United States that revealed the naked truth about this "sweet land of liberty." In 1923 Metro-Goldwyn Co. allowed Erich von Stroheim, an ex-officer of the Austrian army, who had earned a hard livelihood as dishwasher, gardener, and horsegroom, to direct a movie he yearned to make.

It was named Greed, and was founded on the unforgettable novel by the sad-fated genius Frank Norris, McTeague, a tragedy of poverty and brutality set in sunny California. Originally twenty reels long it was cut to 10,000 feet of misery, horror, and a little love and laughter. The role of McTeague's wife Trina, pitiful, pretty, was played by Zasu Pitts, with a power unsurpassed on the American screen or stage. But Greed frightened the rabble who frequent the theatre to subdue their worries, the questers for narcotic romances, the cravers for happy endings. Von Stroheim deserted realism to direct the trivial musical comedy, The Merry Widow, and Zasu Pitts became a curious comedian. Nearly ten years flickered by before another experiment in art and sociology would be made;-- it was a furious success.

Filmdom flirted with themes frowned on by puritan priests and politicians. The movie Motherhood delicately handled the subject of contraception and Universal Co. wrung the bowels of wives and widows with Where Are My Children, a drama concerning abortion. Such moral plays are perennially fascinating to the nation that suffers more than any other, except India and like backward countries, from church oppression and barbarous ethics and lynch laws. In a truly civilised land, a land ruled by reason, science, Communism, photoplays like The Road To Ruin and Damaged Goods will take places along with countless capitalist monstrosities besides medieval torture chambers and primordial animal museums. Sex became the chief source of profit and pleasure for the cinema during the war and after. (1) Titles of esthetic works were changed to meet the low demand of the market; La Gioconda was turned into The Devil's Daughter, The Admirable Crichton was transformed to Male and Female, Madam Butterfly became Passion, Naked Heart, Anna Karenina--Love. Those were the days when the charms of Theodosia Goodman, known to multitudes as Theda Bara, deluged the box-offices with millions. William Fox spent a small fortune on Cleopatra, a stupendous romance starring her. Another movie featuring La Goodman, The Vampire, became a byword. Press agents concocted legends about the distressing damsel, mysterious myths of a French artist father and an Arabian mother. The venerable longings she gave America youth were only airy aspirations compared with the passions roused in the breasts of American femininity by Rudolph Valentino. One of his plays also gave a word to the vulgar vocabulary, The Sheik. The rape scene in that picture caused a national sensation and set the fashion for such aphrodisiac dramas as Soul for Sale, The Married Virgin, It May Be Your Daughter.



Flesh and the Devil, It. Truth is stranger than fiction, as Byron said. But the average American found the agonies and ecstasies of sex, depicted in the tales of Elinor Glyn and Donald Henderson Clark, in the "rialto specials" of La Bara, Signor Valentino, Senerita Dolores del Rio, Don Ameche, far more entrancing than the facts of life as experienced in proletarian parlors, dance pavilions, parks.

An undying anecdote is told on Broadway of an ambitious author who, after failing several times to have his scenarios accepted, challenged a famous producer to state the essentials of a satisfactory screen-story. The answer was rapid and lucid: "A perfect scenario must have five things--first, religion; second, humor; third, society; fourth, action; fifth, sex." The next day the producer received from the angry writer the following manuscript, cryptic, perfect: "My God, I laughed the Duchess, 'let go my leg!'" By statistics it has been found that the indispensable ingredients of a movie masterpiece in God's Country are (1) sex, (2) patriotism, (3) religion, (4) crime, (5) family loyalty. One famous film contained them all, San Francisco. My readers should remember other triumphs of trash, all part of the cultural campaign for what Theodore Dreiser designated "the bastardisation of America".

Odors of more than perfume and incense rose to the public's nostrils early in the history of Hollywood. But it was not until the spring of 1917 that a stercoral-scented scandal of moviedom was given frontpage attention. Certain cinema sultans treated themselves to a wild party at one Brownie Kennedy's roadhouse near the village Woburn, Massachusetts. It cost a mere \$1,050; but the girl victims "ponched" on the potentates, and \$100,000 had to be lavished on hush-cash. In 1920 elderly respectable ladies were shocked by the speed with which Mary Pickford ("America's Sweetheart," far-famed for her roles of bucolic innocence in Pollyanna, Daddy Long Legs, Tess of the Storm Country.) divorced Owen Moore, and, a couple of weeks later, wedded the amorous acrobat Douglas Fairbanks (hero to two generations of boys, star of The Mark of Zorro, Don Q, The Thief of Bagdad--a dream out of the Arabian Nights, displaying the prowess of the cinema as never picture did before,--Robin Hood, The Black Pirate). The hurricane romance of Lovey Mary and Hot Doug gave the pure of the public at worst a chill; but the following year a tragedy occurred in California that froze their blood. The renowned buffoon Roscoe (Fatty) Arbuckle entertained some friends with a midnight affair in San Francisco, from the effects of which an actress named Virginia Rappe died. The unhappy Arbuckle was charged with murder; he was put on trial three times and each time exonerated of the rape. Nevertheless his career was ruined. About ten years later he tried to stage a "comeback" as a custard-tosser again, but nobody would laugh at his haunted antics. He died soon after his return to the screen.

On 27 January 1921 an editor of the New York Sun was stirred to ask wrathfully, why "should a plot by Jules Verne, already a scenario of clean, exciting adventure, be so distorted as to include, utterly for the sake of indecency, two attempts at rape?" Coming from the prostitute press of the Sun, this is a surprise. A journal that can hail scabs and butcher-strikebreakers as heroes, and applaud the killing of worker-rebels should be broadminded enough not to scold at the vices of the movies. No scarlet deed of Hollywood outreeks the coldblood slaughter of the Ludlow, Colorado, striking coal-miners and their families by the Rockefellers in 1914. Besides the war-lords of Wall Street, Nero and the Marquis DeSade and Al Capone seem saints, symbols of civic viture.

When the dashing director William Taylor was murdered, two of Hollywood's most charming actresses were found to be playing parts offscreen the polar opposites of the roles that endeared them to middleclass America. Mary Minter and Mabel Norman earned fame, the first acting as an angelic blond virgin spreading sweetness and light thru the naughty world, the second as a mischievous merry but immaculate brunet wench. They earned infamy in the Taylor affair; their careers were dilapidated, even tho the chivalrous police announced that they could not have committed the crime, nor witnessed it. What the court revealed concerning their relations with the dead director embitt-

tered disillusioned movie-addicts against them. The "film-fiends" were blind to the links of love and lucre that united wicked Hollywood with the Manhattan of flaming youths like Rogers (son of Standard Oil), Manville (prince of Tar), with the White House of Warren Harding and Harry Daugherty, stinking with petroleum and iniquity, the White House of the night-club carousing Roosevelts. You cannot cleanse filmdom and permit the rotten body of which it is an organ to go on polluting the land. Capitalism can be cured of its sicknesses only the way Huckleberry Finn's father could be cured of his craze for booze;-- "a body could reform the old man with a shotgun, maybe, but he didn't know no other way."

#### WHAT PRIEST PURITY?

These passionial crimes and scandals were costing the movie-makers untold thousands in unsold pictures, tainted and unwanted by the masses for whom the theatre was nearly as holy as an evangelist's pavilion or a president's log-cabin birthplace. What was badly needed, they decided, was a man who would accomplish for Hollywood what Ivy Lee did for the Rockefellers, perform as "public relations counsel," whitewashing villainies like the Ludlow massacre, cloaking the crimes of Standard Oil by buncomb about their gorgeous donations to the Baptist Church. The man in demand was discovered in the cabinet of President Harding; he was a power in the Republican Party, and his name was simply Will Hays. Our hero took charge of Motion Picture Producers & Distributors of America Inc. in 1922, and "morality clauses" appeared for the first time in film contracts. (That these vows of virtue did not prevent the venereal adventures of Hollywood Casanovas and Cleopatras is shown by the notorious cases of Mary Nolan (alias Imogen Wilson), Thelma Todd, Mary Astor.) Assisted ably by Colonel Jason Joy, Hays combatted the attempts of state censorship boards to curtail the profits of his scoundrel bosses. His Organization past judgment on scenario subjects, promoted international exchange of films, and published and broadcast articles and lectures exposing the hypocrisy of state guardians of morals. For instance, the Review of Reviews printed in April 1927 an essay by Hays, "Motion Pictures and their Censors," which ridiculed these champions of righteousness, and disclosed some of their lies on interest to labor: "A certain board of censors, upset by the appearance in a picture of an employer who did not use safety devices to protect his employes, ordered insertion of a title reading,--Henry Jones, a type of employer now happily extinct, who does not believe in safety devices." The contemptuous italics are Hays's, not mine. When thieves fall out,--the proverb is ancient but precious.

When clergymen protested against the filming of Rain, a truthful tragic drama involving a priest and a prostitute, Hays hastened to--change the name of the play to Sadie Thompson. This is an example of how far his interference in the cinema factories extends. When American residents in Japan complained to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate about the outrageous movies sent to the Nippon screens in 1931, because they were "endangering the national honor in the Orient," with their debauchery and corruption, the protest was filed and forgotten. Hays bugled that the movies were "selling goods abroad for every American manufacturer," and that "Trade follows the film," even as it trailed financial deals. Girls and lads from Tokio to Turkestan pined to exert the fascination of and have the frolics of American stars. Wherever the celluloid spell was thrown, cars, cosmetics, and numberless Yankee products were coveted. (2) Hays & Co. could afford to grin at the charge of the Christian Science Monitor in 1933, that "America's most powerful and pernicious spokesman in Europe today is Hollywood." They shrugged their shoulders at the statement of a New Zealand exhibitor: "You could not persuade even a fifteen-year-old boy -- 1. That every American from the President down to the toughest gangster, is not a hard drinker; 2. That there is an honest American business man, politician, judge or jury; and 3. That there is such a thing as a clean, honest newspaper man." (3)

The Hays gang has published ardent appeals for the "freedom of the screen" and its right to work out its own destiny. Nevertheless it instigated the suppression of news-

reels of police bestiality in strikes and jobless rallies, and of outstanding cases of boss justice, like the frameup and murder of the anarchist saints, Nicolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, in 1927. Hays supervised The Eternal City, so that it was made "thoroly sympathetic and pleasing" to the blackshirt butchers of Italy. The Fascist ambassador Caetani approved the picture personally. But Soviet Russia was never asked for its opinion on the Red Dancer of Moscow, Rasputin and the Empress, Scarlet Dawn, British Agent, Knight Without Armor, Kovarish, stenchy and slimy with their lamentations on Tsarism and anathemas for Communism.

Since Harding's Postmaster General became "public relations counsel" for filmdom, that capital city of the cinema, sin, and cynicism, is just as giddy and gaudy as San Francisco after the earthquake of 1905. (The movie named after the Golden Gate metropolis tries to impress us with the fairytale, that the "act of God" purged the city of the Barbary Coast as immaculate as the Virgin Mary's milk.) Proof in plenty of the movieland's vileness is supplied by the press nearly daily. Thus, the Philadelphia Inquirer, 4 June 1937, flourishes these headlines: "Film Party Attack Alleged by Actress--Declares salesman plied her with liquor; 125 'extras' lured by work promise." The divorce case of Jean Harlow (deceased) and Mary Pickford (her second) provided fuel for gossip from coast to coast, to name only two prominent affairs. Blackmail is as common in Hollywood as verbal back-knifing and "camera-hogging." Sex is not the sole source of glee and delirium in California's wonderland; star avid of dope, like the late Wallace Reid, are not rare; pederasty is a pet indoor sport of stars. Life goes on in the infernal suburb of Los Angeles with gusto and disgusto. Over its entrance a huge electric sign should be placed, saying: Abandon shame, all you who enter here. But I am beginning to sound like a preacher of the Legion of Decency.(4)

Professor Fred Eastman, of the University of Chicago, has spoken the final word about Hollywood's supreme press agent: "The industry does not pay Mr. Hays a salary, reported to be three times that of the President of United States,--for the business of censoring pictures. Producers are not so stupid as not to know when their pictures are bad. That salary is paid rather for the purpose of protecting and increasing the profits of the producers. Those profits are endangered whenever the public begins to clamor for any sort of social control over this industry." (5) Business is business, the war-cry of the kings of capital; we are not in business for the public health. The public be damned, as William Vanderbilt once remarked; all that the market will bear: Pierpont Morgan's motto.

#### THE ALMIGHTY DOLLAR

Among the nation's major industries, the movie business ranks third in wealth. About two billion dollars are invested in this "amusement" game, of which \$5,000,000, in round numbers, are spent yearly on advertising alone. The Joint Committee on Education of the House and Senate past a resolution on 17 December 1919 "that the motion picture industry of the United States be requested to do all that is within its power to upbuild and strengthen the spirit of Americanism." (The word Americanism is like a whore, all things to all men.)

President Coolidge officially recognised the industry "as one of the leading businesses of the United States," and declared he felt "the Government should encourage it in every legitimate (?) way." (6) He strenuously opposed the Upshaw bill for the creation of a special commission to supervise the movies. So most of the barons of Hollywood were stanch Republicans; Louis Mayer, of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Co., was chairman of the California committee of the Grand Old Party; and William Fox contributed priceless assistance to the hoisters of Herbert Hoover into the White House, by means of his Movietone News. Andrew Mellon, the emperor of aluminum, reigned serene on Capitol Hill, the "greatest Secretary of the Treasury" since Alexander Hamilton robbed the Revolutionary War veterans of their "worthless" Continental pay.

The first financiers to get a great grip on Hollywood (as the reader knows) were Kuhn, Loeb & Co., allies of the mighty Morgan. As early as 1912 their agent Crawford Livingston promoted Mutual Productions. Another darling of theirs, Otto Kahn, who plumed himself as a patron of the useless arts, became a backer of Famous Players to the tune of \$10,000,000. That outfit converted itself to Paramount Pictures, and in 1916 was the foremost pirate in the league of looters known as Motion Picture Producers & Distributors, with a capital of 25 millions.<sup>(7)</sup> Coleman, of the tribe of Dupont, factorers of powders, paints and poisons, interested himself in Goldwyn films. Rudolph Hearst entered the "racket" with zest and lust, producing Cosmopolitan Pictures.

There were 303 theatres in Paramount's tentacles by August 1921. To fight this octopus, the Motion Picture Theatre Owners Association was created in 1920. The competition between the chain-playhouses and the "cock-roach" showplaces in the Association caused a split in 1928. The secession men organised the Allied States Association of Motion Picture Exhibitors. They wailed and howled against the plutocrats who were crowding them out of the game. In the spring of 1932 they boasted control of about 6000 theatres; the total number of playhouses in that dark year was 20,000 in round figures. In their desperate struggle for profits and survival they fought a battle with the movie operators union of Chicago, which had been officially recognised by the richer companies, and defeated it. The victory, their advertisements trumpeted, was worth a million and a half dollars.<sup>(8)</sup> "Cockroach" capitalists like these are the "angels" and hierophants of Popular Fronts in Europe and Populist (Farmer-Labor) parties in America (or National-Revolutionary parties as in Mexico). They crawl in worship before capital and property, but are scared to death of trusts and monopolies. Their consuming desire is to restore the "good old days" of the system, when there were no vast factories, chain-shops, world banks; they want to manicure the claws of the tiger of finance capital, not kill it.

When the silent cinema was outstripped in popularity by the "talkie", the concentration of control over Hollywood in the clutches of a few bankers increased in speed. The Vitaphone and Movietone processes for sound films were introduced by Western Electric, a subsidiary of American Telephone & Telegraph, belonging to the Morgan gang. In 1928 the Photophone system patented by General Electric and Westinghouse, controlled by the Radio Corporation of America, was set in use by the Film Booking Corporation. R C A took over the Keith-Albee-Orpheum circuit of showplaces and thus founded R-K-O, a company worth 80 millions. Tho they work together closely in the main firms of California, the rivalry between the Morganites and the Rockefellerians (master of RCA) is by no means friendly. They cooperate to crush the "cockroaches." The cry for justice in the petition of the Radio Protective Association (a league of little-burgess thousandaires) to President Hoover in 1929, calling for the prosecution of the radio trust, should wring brine from folks frigid to tragedies of old homesteads mortgaged and foreclosed, nowadays:-

"Whereas, the Radio Corporation of America, the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, the General Electric Company, the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company, and the United Fruit Company, with aggregate resources of \$5,000 million have undertaken to create an unlawful monopoly in the radio industry, and; Whereas, said radio trust has sought to destroy its competitors and to control every phase of the art (?) of radio, including communications, broadcasting, manufacture, television, and the talking movies, and; Whereas this attempted monopoly of the greatest means of mass communication know to man is a menace to the safety of the republic, and; Whereas, the unpunished violations of the anti-trust laws by such a combination of rich and powerful corporations, and their offences against independent competitors, tend to bring all laws into disrepute and to encourage law-breaking by less wealthy and less powerful individuals and corporations; Therefore, be it resolved, by the RPA, as the representative of the independent radio industry of America, assembled in annual convention in Chicago, that it respectfully petition the Honorable (?) Herbert Hoover, President of the United States, to direct the Law Enforcement Commission recently appointed by him to investigate the apparent immunity from prosecution enjoyed by the radio trust." (For more dire details, see the United States Daily, Washington, DC; 10 June 1929)

The electric despots bossed as directors such celebrities as James Sheffield, former ambassador to Mexico; James Harbord, Major-General, former Chief of Staff of the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe, who acted as president of RCV, and hired as counsel Frank Polk, Secretary of State under Wilson. The Radio Corporation of America was founded in order to combat the British monopoly in the field, with the connivance of the Navy Department and the Honorable Hoover himself.<sup>(7)</sup>

In RCA Morgan and Rockefeller wrestled for hegemony. At first the former had the upper hand, due to the dominance of his buddy Mellon in Westinghouse. But Rockefeller forged to the front for irresistible reasons. The glaring exposure of the electric trust by its petty opponents compelled the Government in 1930 to sue the Radio Corporation under the anti-monopoly laws. In 1932 the patent pool behind the firm gave up its exclusiveness. In that year Morgan and his crew suffered another setback. The Columbia Broadcasting Co., controlled by them thru Paramount-Publix Corp., passed into the hands of a band of stocklords chiefly standing for the bankers Lehman Brothers and Brown; Harriman & Co., Lehman Bros. are rising rivals of the house of Morgan; they have profited plenty by the fact that one member of their family is a judge of New York's Supreme Court, and another is Governor of the Empire State, a grand pal of President Roosevelt. The years 1929-1936, that were for numberless Americans hard and horrible times, were for the royal family of Standard Oil a period of magnificent industrial, financial, and political victories. For their standard-bearer, Franklin Roosevelt, the big estate-owner, was exalted to the presidency by the travail and folly of the masses. Today the Rockefellers are the commanders-in-chief of RCA. But Morgan holds sway over American Telephone and Telegraph still.<sup>(8)</sup>

#### GOLD AGAINST GOLD

Today Kuhn-Loeb are no longer interested in Paramount. The crisis forced them to conserve their energies, devoting them mostly to railroads. The prevailing bankers in the largest of cinema corporations are Atlas Corp., an investment trust "managed by men closely associated with the Morgan interests,"<sup>(9)</sup> the Lehmans, and the Royal Liverpool group of British insurance kings, headed by the financier Fortington. Adolph Zukor and Jesse Lasky, the Jewish founders of Paramount, are only amiable puppets, where once they were monarchs.

Over the booty of the Radio-Keith-Orpheum Corp. the snouts of Rockefeller and Morgan couple and clash continually, the latter thru Atlas Corp., the first thru Radio Corp. Lehman Bros. and the Californian money wizard A. H. Giannini, beloved of Randolph Hearst, are also stockholders in RKO.

The third biggest firm in the game is Loew's Inc., which operates the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studios. Several years ago its gold problems were handled by Halsey, Stuart & Co. of LaSalle Street (Chicago's Wailing Wall), backers of the Insull utility investments coveted by Morgan, and today ruled by him.<sup>(10)</sup> American Tel. & Tel. was also deeply involved in M-G-M. The chief owners of Loew's Inc. in 1937, however, were American Tel. and Tel. and Atlas Corp.. So you observe, Morgan's Jolly Roger flies from its mainmast.

Chase National, the biggest commercial bank in the United States, owned by the Rockefellers, is autocrat of the Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp.. This most brilliant outfit in California bears the fading splendor of the name and fame of William Fox. But that pirate-pioneer, the cleverest of the builders of the industry, was hurled from his throne among the Hollywood mighty long ago. The story of his downfall briefly runs thus: A T & T plus Halsey-Stuart were out to crack the Fox's grip on the firm he founded. Deep in debt to the Morgan gang, he appealed to a certain private lawyer in New York named Charles Evans Hughes, to help him find a friendly financier for his enterprises. He poured out his heart to Hughes; and the next day the Federal Government sued him for defying the anti-trust acts. It forced him to disgorge his shares in Loew's Inc., thus driving him to the brink of bankruptcy. The Solicitor-General in Washington was a



certain Charles Evans Hughes, junior, but this might have had nothing to do with the secrets of his father, the venerable liar, pardon, lawyer. (11)

The General Theatres Equipment Co. that the Fox aided to organise (whose estimated value is \$235,576,000) is also run today by the Rockefeller crew. Jolly Joe Schenck, chairman of the board of directors of Twentieth Century, made an ultra-generous donation to the second campaign fund of the Democratic Party. (12) No bribe; merely a token of "Economic Royalist" Schenck's esteem for the hero in the White House, whose New Deal laws had been so fruitful for the Rockefeller troop of "brank brigands," (13) in their invasion and subjugation of Morgan strongholds. Schenck's brother Nick, by the way, is an officer of Loew's Inc.

Along with the pioneers Zukor and Fox, Carl Laemmle of Universal Pictures was retired from active service at the cinema front. The Universal Corp. is now in the fists of money masters like George Armsby, a director of Loew's and R-K-O, and A. H. Giannini, who "probably sits in on more confidential moving picture councils than any man in America." (14) The Morgan subsidiary, Electrical Research Products, Inc., loaned Universal the sum of \$300,000 in January 1936. So we may safely say that the biggest hogs at the Universal trough are of the Morgan breed.

Giannini is president of the United Artists Corp. (specialist in historical romances, elaborate comedies, and technicolor). His bosom crony, Randolph Hearst, the soul-mate of the clown Marion Davies, distributes his Cosmopolitan films by means of Warner Bros. The three Warners hold the majority of the stock in this firm, which specialises in sophisticated movies dealing with current questions; the banking house of Hayden-Stone has a strong say in its affairs.

These 8 outfits not only own Hollywood's wealthiest studios; they control the main showplaces and movie-apparatus-making concerns in the United States. For "the day is past," as J. P. McGowan, actor-director, announced in 1917, "when small capital, coupled with boundless presumption, is capable of creating a millionaire overnight." The theme-song for petty exploiters who challenge the hegemony of the eight titans in film-dom is bound to be "Buddy Can You Spare a Dime". For the 'King of Kings' worship by Hollywood, the White House and Wall Street, is not the Jewish carpenter called Christ to whom Cecil DeMille dedicated his stupendous and stupid spectacle The King of Kings (which cost \$19,000 a day for 136 days). It is Mammon, the Almighty Dollar, the real Holy Ghost of Christian capitalism. Who the hell said, you cannot serve two gods, Jehovah and Mammon? Catholic or Campbellite, Reformed Jew or Christian Scientist, the plutocrats comfortably gives "service with a smile" to both divinities.

(Next Episode: International Intrigue, or The World Battle of the Bankers)

Notes:-

1) "The capitalist who is financing the picture-producing company, the executive officers whom he hires to make money for him, and the directors in the studios, expend much of their time and energy in trying to devise that which will show the male and the female in some unusual and new relationship." - Ellis Oberholtzer: The Morals of the Movie. Mr. Oberholtzer, for six years a member of the Pennsylvania State Board of Censors, had no right to cry shame on the immoral movie magnates, not after writing a book extolling the arch-crook of the Civil War, Jay Cook.

2) "Reports of American consuls are almost unanimous in citing this as a major stimulant of foreign trade, especially in the newer industries." - Ludwell Denny: America Conquers Britain (1930).

3) Quoted by the Liberal theologian Jerome Davis in his Capitalism and its Culture (1935), page 281. The rev. Davis dislikes capitalism, but he hates communism, like so many Liberals, particularly Liberal priests like Kirby Page, Harry Ward, ad nau.



4) In 1922 Congress occupied itself with three efforts at bringing the reckless cinema business under government wings, the Myers Senate resolution, a Federal Trade Commission probe, the Appleby bill for regulating the movies. These caused the Hays racket to be founded. In 1924 Hays refused to blacklist a famous actor for vice, so a number of "social welfare" groups were disenchanted and withdrew from the corporation, branding it a "smoke screen, an obvious camouflage, an approval stamp for the salacious films and for the questionable, if not criminal conduct of the industry." -- Howard Lewis: The Motion Picture Industry; page 373.

5) Professor Eastman's bitter book appeared in 1932: Your Child and the Movies.

6) United States Daily, 21 April 1926.

7) "There is a certain heavy symbolism in the fact that Paramount was the discoverer of both Clara (It) Bow and the path from Hollywood to Wall Street. For the movies, as both a business and a diversion, have long had an almost sexual attraction for many Eastern investors." -- Anonymous author in the millionaire's magazine Fortune, March 1937; page 194.

8) From Howard Lewis's volume, a golconda of such facts; page 318. Mr. Lewis's remedy for the ills and rops of the cinema is government intervention; he appeals from the bosses to the bosses lawyers and journalists and ministers.

9) "Admiral Bullard was designated by the President to attend their board of directors meetings, to help them all he could to get up this American company." -- Senate Interstate Commerce Comite hearings on the Couzens radio bill, May 1929.

10) R C A & A T T -- "These two gigantic concerns own and control everything that matters in the entertainment industry." -- Paul Rotha.

11) Anna Rochester: Rulers of America, a study of finance capital (1936); p. 97. This book might have been a masterwork, if it was not for the writer's puerile politics. She has faith in the Popular Front graft of the Russian International. Despite her exposure of the connexion between the fortunes of Rockefeller and Roosevelt, she adheres to the counter-Communist party that passionately supports the President as a "progressive", a champion of the poor against the "economic royalists"!

12) Halsey-Stuart was termed by a spokesman of pygmy capital in Wisconsin, Senator Blaine, "one of the greatest vultures in the investment field." See the Congressional Record of February 1931. By his attack on this vulture, the Republican Blaine gave aid and comfort to the condor Morgan, who was after Halsey-Stuart's nest-egg, the Insull utilities.

13) The tale of Fox's ascent and collapse as a movie grandee is more exciting than the story of the Forty Thieves in the Arabian Nights. Unten Sinclair Presents William Fox (1933) discloses the ways Wall Street is corded together with Washington, beside the curious crooked workings and thinkings of capitalists.

14) The Hollywood Reporter, 5 November 1936.

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CREATIVE COMMUNISM in September will have the following amazing material, as enlightening and uplifting as it is astonishing: "Anti-Semitism, Its Cause and Cure" by Daniel De Leon; "The Riddle of Russia - From White August to Red October"; articles on the current Russo-Japanese War - the coming revolution in Puerto Rico - anniversary essay on the mysterious Reichstag fire case and the Leipzig trial of the criminal Dimitrov! Also the next number of our magazine will conclude "Hollywood, Washington & Wall Street" and open a series of views and reviews of the news. A dollar brings you 15 numbers of CREATIVE COMMUNISM... Subscribe right away!

REFORM or REVOLUTION

by Esther PARIS

Everywhere in the United States the cleverest enemies of the working class clamor for "public works" and "housing projects" and "the right to work", trying to convince our class that the greater exploitation of larger masses of laborers and the cheapening of their costs to the capitalist class by means of these "reforms" will relieve us of most of the miseries of wage-slavery. Not a few of these fakirs, these labor leaders (far better to call them Labor Bleeders), are acquainted with the writings of Frederick Engels, the great revolutionary scientist who fought their forerunners almost single-handed after the death of Karl Marx. They know that in 1872 Engels wrote this on the question of the shortage of homes for the poor:

"How can the housing problem be solved? In modern society this question is solved, like every other social question, by a gradual economic equalisation of supply and demand. This however is a kind of solution that itself constantly creates the problem anew, that is, it offers no solution. How the social revolution will solve this enigma depends not only on circumstances of time and place, but it is bound up with questions that go much further, among which one of the most important is the abolition of the distinction between town and country. As we are not interested in utopian speculations on the structure of the future society, it would be more than a waste of time to dwell on this point. One thing is certain; even now there are sufficient habitable buildings in the large towns to relieve materially the real shortage of accomodation, if sensible use were made of them. This of course could only be brought about by the expropriation of their present possessors, and by settling in them the homeless workers, or the workers now living in overcrowded homes. And as soon as the workers win political power, such a measure, based on the best interests of society, will be as easily carried out as all other expropriations and commandoings by the modern state." (The Housing Question, American edition; pages 35-36.)

A fight for any "reform" which is not at the same time an assault on some institution or fortress of what Engels called in The Housing Question "the collective capitalist, the state", is an act of disruption and degradation of the workers, nothing less. The shouters and preachers for "the right to work", the counter-Communist Party, the anti-Socialist Party, their Lovestoneite and Trotskyist campfollowers, all strive to lower the standard of living of American labor, to make us slaves of the state. They want us to fight for government chaingangs for the sake of "Works Progress"; they want to establish concentration camps for the American proletariat, beside making it easier for the capitalists to cut our wages by cheapening the prices of our food, clothing, shelter. People whose very names are stench in the nostrils of all true champions of social progress, like the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck and the Ultramontane Father Coughlin, not to speak of Hitler and Stalin, have applauded this slogan of "the right to work". Concerning it Engels wrote on 23 May 1884 (in a letter to Eduard Bernstein):

"The 'right to work' is a conception invented by Fourier. But in his theory it can be realised only in the phalanstery. (The 'phalanstery' was the utopian socialist community which the noble Fourier dreamt would quietly and kindly end all class strife.) It presupposes therefore the acceptance of this form of organisation. The Fourierists, peace-loving philistines of the Democratie Pacifique, as their paper was named, spread this conception just because of its innocuous sound. As a result of their absolute theoretical unclearness, the Parisian workers adopted this watchword. It seemed so practical, so non-utopian, so immediately realisable. The Government put it into practice in the only fashion that capitalism was able to - in senseless national public works. In the same way the 'right to work' was put into action during the cotton crisis of 1861-4 in Lancashire, England, thru municipal public works. And in Germany, it is actualised in the labor colonies of hunger and the bludgeon, for which the philistine is now enthusiastic.... The granting of this demand by capitalist society can be accomplished only within its own conditions of existence. If the right to work is demanded from capitalism, it can only be under these specific circumstances; and thus what is really being demanded are national public works, work-houses, and labor colonies."